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# FROM MAHATHMAJI THIS WEEK.

## ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE.

### Mahathma Gandhi's Statement.

Mahatma Gandhi writes in "Young India":—

The Conference was both a success and a failure. It was a success in that it showed an earnest desire on the part of those who attended to secure a peaceful solution of the present trouble, and in that it brought under one roof people possessing divergent views. It was a failure in that, though certain resolutions have been adopted the Conference did not leave on my mind the impression that those who assembled together as a whole realised the gravity of the real issue. The mind of the Conference seemed to be centred more on a round table conference than upon asserting the popular right of free speech free association and free press which are more than a round table conference. I had expected on the part of the Independents to declare their firm attitude that no matter how much they might differ regarding the method of non-co-operation, the freedom of the people was a common heritage and that the assertion of that right was three fourths of Swaraj; that therefore they would defend that right even with civil desobedience, if need be.

However, as the attention of the conference could not be revetted on that point but on a round table conference, the discussion turned upon the essentials of such a conference.

My own position w[illegible] clear. [illegible] ould attend any confeence as an [illegible]vidual, without any conditions. [illegible] purpose as a refomer is to [illegible] ople to the vèw I hold to [illegible] d therefore to see every [illegible] ould care to listen to me. [illegible] was asked to mention [illegible] ons necessary for an [illegible] phere favourable for a successful [illegible] erence, I had to press home [illegible] conditions. And I must [illegible] at the Resolutions Committee [illegible] oached my view point with the [illegible] eatest sympathy and showed every anxiety to accommodate me. But side by with this, I observed an admirable disposition on its part to consider the Government's difficulties. Indeed the Government's case could not have better presented, if it had been directly and officially represented in the Conference.

The result was a compromise. The withdrawal of notifications and the discharge of prisoners coming under the notifications and of the fatwa prisoners, i. e., the Ali Brothers and others who have been convicted in respect of the fatwas regarding military service, was common cause. The committee saw the force of the suggestions that the distress warrants should be discharged. The fines imposed upon the Press etc should be refunded and that the prisoners convicted non-violent or otherwise for innocent activities under cover of the ordinary laws should be discharged upon the proof of their non-violence. For this purpose I had suggested the committee appointed by the conference. But on the Resolutions Committee showing that it would be difficult for the Government to accept such an uncontrolled recommendation, I agreed to the principle of arbitration now imported in the resolution. The second compromise is regarding picketing. My suggestion was that in the event of the round-table conference being decided upon, non-co-operation activites of a hostile nature should be suspended and that all picketing except bona fide peaceful picketing should also be suspended, pending result of the conference. As the implications of hostile activities appeared to me to be too dangerous to be acceptable, I hastily withdrew my own wording and gladly threw over even bona fide peaceful picketing though I regretted it. I felt that the friends interested in liquor p cketing for the sake of temperrnce would not mind the temporary sacrifice.

I agreed too, to advise the Working Committee to postpone general mass Civil disobedience contemplated by the Congress to the 31st instant in order to enable the Committee and the Conference to enter into negotiations with the Government. This I felt was essential to show our bona fides. We could not take up no offensives whilst negotiations for a conference were being conducted by responsible men. I further undertook to advise the Committee, in the event of the proposed conference coming off, to stop all hartals pending the conference. This I hold to be inevitable. *Hartals* are a domonstration against bureaucracy. We cannot continue them, if we are conferring with them for peace. Workers will bear in mind that as yet no activity of the Congress stops, save, general civil disobedince. On the contrary, enlistment of volunteers and Swadeshi propaganda must continue without abatement, Liquor shop picketin[g] may continue where it is absolutely peaceful. It should certainly continue where notices unnecessarily prohibiting picketing have been issued. So may picketing continue regarding schools or foreign cloth shops. But whilst all our activities should be zealously continued, there should be the greatest resstraint exercised and every trace of violence or discourtesy avoided. When restraint and courtesy are added to strength, the latter becomes irresistible. Civil disobedience being an indefeasible right, the preparations for it will continue even if the conference comes off. And the preparations for civil disobedience consist in:—

1. the enlistment of volunteers,
2. the propaganda of Swadeshi,
3. the removal of untouchability
4. the training in non-violence in word, deed and thought,
5. unity between diverse creeds or classes.

I hear that many are enrolled as volunteers in various parts of India, although they do not wear khaddar do not believe in complete non-violence or, if they are Hindus, do not believe in untouchability as a crime against humanity. I cannot too often warn the people that every deviation from our own rules retard our progress. It is the quality of our work which will please God and not quantity. Not all the lip Mussalmans and the lip Hindus will enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Islam is no stronger than the best Mussalman. Thousands of nominal followers of Hinduism belie their faith and discredit it. One true and perfect follower of Hinduism is enough to protect it for all time and against the whole world. Similarly, one true and perfect non-co-operator is any day better than a million non-co-operators so-called. Preparation for Civil Disobedience is to cultivate civility that is truth and non-violence amongst ourselves and our surroundings.

THE DEMANDS.

In order that all may approach the Round Table Conference with perfect knowledge of the Congress demands, I laid all our cards on the table and reiterated the claims regarding the Khilafat, the Punjab and Swaraj. Let me repeat them here:—

(1) So far as I can write from memory full restoration to the Turks of Constantinople, Adrianople Anatolia including Smyrna and Thrace. Complete withdrawal of non-Muslim influence from Arabia, Mesopotomia, Palestine and Syria and therefore withdrawal of British troops whether English or Indian from these territories.

(2) Full enforcement of the report of the Congress Sub-Committee and, therefore, stopping of the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Dyer and other officers named in the report for dismissal.

(3) Swaraj means, in the event of the foregoing demands being granted, full Dominion status. The scheme of such Swaraj shall be famed by representatives duly elected in terms of the Congress Constitution. That means four-anna franchise. Every Indian adult male or female paying four annas and signing the Congress creed will be entitled to be placed on the electoral list. These electors would elect delegates who would [illegible] constitution. This [illegible] en effect to without any change [illegible] the British Parliament.

If the Congress programme is so out and dry where is the necessity for a conference?—asks the critic. I hold that there is and there always will be.

The method of execution of the demands has to be considered. The Government may have a reasonable and a convincing answer to the claims. The Congressmen have fixed their minimum but the fixing of the minimum means no more than confidence in the justice of one's cause. It further means that there is no room for bargaining. There can, therefore, be no appeal to one's weakness or incapacity. The appeal can only be addressed to reason. If the Viceroy summons the Conference it means either that he recognises the justice of the claims or hopes to satisfy the Congressmen among others of the injustice thereof. He must be confident of his proposals for a rejection or reduction of the claim. That is my meaning of a meeting of equals who eliminate the idea of force and instantly shift their ground as they appreciate the injustice of their position. I assure his Excellency the Viceroy and everybody concerned that the Congressmen or non-co-operators are as reasonable beings as may be found on earth or in India. They have every incentive to be so, for their's is the duty of suffering as a result of any first offer.

I have heard it urged that on the Khilaft the Imperial Government is powerless. I should like to be convinced of this. In that case and if the Imperial Government make common cause with the Mussalmans of India I should be quite satisfied and take the chance with the Imperial Government's genuine assistance of convincing the other Powers of the justice of the Khilafat claim. And even when the claim is admitted much requires to be discussed regarding the execution.

Similarly regarding the Punjab. The principle being granted, the details have to be settled. Legal difficulties have been urged about stopping the pension to the dismissed officials. The reader may not know

Continued on Page 3 Column 1


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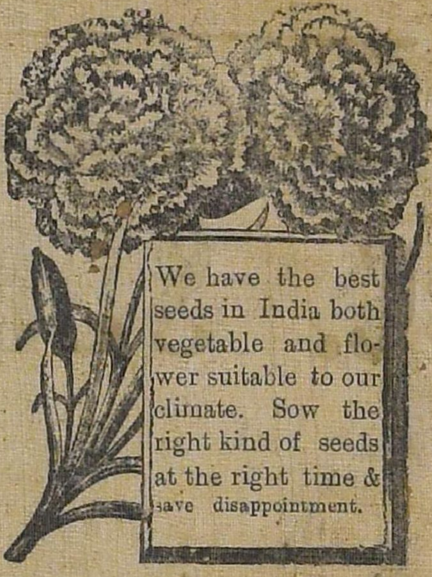


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that Maulana Shaukat Ali's pension (I suppose he occupied the same status as Sir Michael O'Dwyer) was stopped without any inquiry or previous notice to him. I believe that service regulations do provide for removing officers and officials from the pension list on proof of gross neglect of duty or disloyal service. Anyway let the Government prove a case for refusal to grant the Punjab demand save the plea of the past services of these officials. I must refuse to weigh their service to Empire against their disservice to India assuming the possibility of two such things co-existing.

Swaraj scheme is undoubtedly a matter on which there will be as many minds as there are men and women. And it is eminently a thing to be debated in a conference. But here again there must be a clean mind and no mental reservations. India's freedom must be the supreme interest in everybody's mind. There should be no obstruction such as the preoccupation of the British elector or the indifference of the House of Commons or the hostility of the House of Lords. No lover of India can possibly take into account these extraneous matters. The only question to consider will be—is India ready for what she wants? Or does she ask like a child for food she has no stomach for? That can be determined not by outsiders but by Indians themselves.

And I feel that from that standpoint, I do consider the idea of the Conference for devising a scheme of full Swaraj premature. She has not yet incontestably proved her strength. Hersuffering is great indeed, but nothing and not prolonged enough for the object in view. She has to go through greater discipline. I was punctiliously careful not to make non-co-operators party to the conference resolutions because we are still so weak. When India has evolved disciplined strength. I would knock myself at the Viceregal door for a conference and I know that the Viceroy will gladly embrace the opportunity whether he be an eminent lawyer or a distinguished militarist I do not approach directly because I am conscious of our weakness. But being humble I make it clear through Moderates or other friends that I would miss not a single opportunity of having honest conference or consultations And so I have not hesitated to advise non-co-operators thankfully to meet the Independents and place our services at their disposal to make such use of them as they may deem fit. And if the Viceroy or a party desires a conference it would be foolish for non-co-operators not to respond, The case of non-co-operators depends for success on cultivation of public opinion and public support. They have no other force to back them. If they forfeit public opinion they have lost the voice of God for the time being.

For the number of preparing the scheme too. I have simply suggested what appears to me to be a most feasible method. The All India Congress Committee has not considered it, nor has the Working Committee. The adoption of the Congress franchise is my own suggestion: But what I have laid down as the guiding principle is really unassailable. The Scheme of Swaraj is that scheme which popular representatives frame. What happens then to the experts in administration and others who may not be popularly elected? In my opinion they also should attend and have the vote even but they must necessarily be in a minority. They must expect to influence the majority by a constant appeal to the logic of facts. Given mutual trust and mutual respect a Round Table Conference cannot but result in a satisfactory or honourable peace.

AN UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT.

The abrupt withdrawal of Sir Sankaran Nair was an unfortunate incident. In my opinion he had nothing to do with my or later with Mr. Jinnah's opinions. As Speaker, especially, he was exempt from any implied or, express identification with any body's views. I cannot help feeling that Sir Sankaran erred in the conception of his duty as Speaker. But as we progress towards democracy, we must be prepared even for such erroneous exercise of independence. I congratulate Sir Sankaran Nair upon his boldly exercising his independence which I have not hesitated to call cursedness in private conversation and upon the independence of the Committee in not suffering a nervous collapse but quietly electing Sir Vishveshwaraya and voting thanks to the retiring Speaker for the services rendered.

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# Now or Never

**(By E. Suryanarayana Iyer.)**

Mr. E. Suryanarayana Ayyar, B A., B. L., Member, All India Congress Committee and Editor "Samarasabodhini" Tanjore writes :—

The Conference of Leaders that was held in Bombay, on the 14th and 15th instants is surely an eye-opener to Government. The most loyal moderates roused by righteous indignation have condemned in strong and unhesitating terms the mad policy of Repression pursued by Government at this critical juncture in the political evolution of the country. The Conference has after much discussion and deliberation passed certain resolutions and they are now before Government. The object of the Conference is to ease the tension brought about by the repressive measures adopted by Government to put down the legitimate activities of the Congress. With this object in view the moderate leaders have approached the Viceroy to induce him to summon the representatives of all political parties to a Round Table Conference to discuss terms to arrive at an honourable settlement. The ill-conceived and mischievous letter of Sir Sankaran Nayar written in a fit of anger is certain to misland the Government. The replies of Messrs. Jinnah, Natarajan, Baptists Bomanje and others to Sir Sankaran Nayar's letter would show Government how keenly they feel over the question of the summoning of a Round Table Conference and how anxious the moderates are to arrive at an honourablo settlement.

The Government should pause for a while and gauge the political situation and the wonderful hold that Mahatmaji has over the millions of people of India and the real nature of the successful struggle of non-violent non-co-operators in the country.

Mahatma Gandhi fully realising his responsibility helped the deliberations of the Conference to the best of his abilities. With a view to maintain a favourable atmosphere in the country, Mahatmaji has agreed to stop, at the request of the Conference, mass civil disobedience to facilitate the work of the moderate leaders in bringing about a Round Table Conference and has also pledged his word to stop the activities of non-co-operators such as picketting of liquor shops, foreign cloth shops, during the sittings of the Round Table Conference. It may be said that Mahatmaji's reasonable and conciliatory spirit has encouraged not a little Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyya and others to try their level best to bring about a Round Table Conference. So far as the Congress is concerned it has. as Mahatmaji said at its sittings kept the door wide open for His Excellency the Viceroy to enter into negotiations with it provided certain conditions were fulfilled beforehand.

It thus follows that Government, cannot for any reason blame the Congress and the non-co-operation movement led by Mahatma Gandhi. It must condemn its own present policy and the way how its own authorities were bringing trouble upon trouble in the country. Unlike the Irish people, the peaceful and law-abiding millions of India are carrying on the movement for redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, for the attainment of Swaraj, for freedom of speech and lawful association, pledged always to the doctrine of Ahimsa (Non-violence), cheerfully undergoing all sorts of suffering with that patience and fortitude of mind which an Indian alone can possess. The movement has come to stay in the country and the masses have caught the right spirit of non-violent non-co-operation. Repression of even the worst kind cannot, I think, stop its onward march. Even when people are provoked to violence they remain non-violent and firm. Have not Government had enough proofs of the calm, cool and collected temper of the people during the arrests of their dear leaders? Does not the Government know for a fact that the non-co-operators entertain no racial hatred towards any one?

Already the Andhras have begun mass civil disobedience in the form of non-payment of taxes in the Guntur district. The movement is going on peacefully under the leadership of Desabhakta Konda Venkatappaya in the teeth of distraint warrants, attachments and sale of properties. The Andhras are bearing these trials cheerfully. Government should, by this time, have learnt that the application of brute force to persons on certain occasions, the parade of military troops, the display of armoured motors and machine guns in a town will not cow down people who are engaged in a fight for truth and justice, The only course therefore left open to Government is toenter into terms of peace with the nation, How is this to be done? This can be done only at a Round Table Conference.

In this connection, I cannot loose sight of the fact that the proceedings both in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State regarding the "Censure Resolution" have sorely disappointed the moderates and have but added fuel to fire, The speeches of some of the non-official members of the Assembly and the Council who supported repressive policy of Government, betray the ignorance of such members of the real state of feeling in the country, The speeches of the members of Government lack in farsightedness and statesmanship and the spirit with which the non-violent non-co

Continued on page 10 column 1


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# Our Trichy Letter

(From Our Correspondent)

THE STUDENTS AND THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT.

Trichinopoly is, as everybody knows, a big educational centre The approximate number of students may will come to 4000, of which nearly 2000 are College students. But it is a pity that these youngmen have not yet evidenced any real interest in the present struggle that it going on in this country for national freedom.

Some of the stndents took it into their head to convene a meeting of the students. This move is long overdue and the conveners are to be congratulated for their attempt though somewhat late in the day. A meeting was held on thegrounds opposits to the Town Hall on the 24th. instant and Mr. Ignatius, who had come here, was requested to deliver a lecture on 'The Students and the Present situation. The total number of students who attended the meeting may be put approximately between 400 and 500.

Mr. Kothandaramiyer, the capt tain of the National Volunteer Corps, presided. In his opening speech he said :—

The country is passing through a serious crisis in her history, a period of revolution for the attainment of Swaraj. The action of the Government forced Mahatma Gandhi to inaugurate his Non-co-operation Movement. The Congress has approved it. The whole Indian people, the feudal aristocracy, and the intellectual aristocracy and the masses are behind him. Liberty, equality and frater nity are the great ideals of the movement. It is a movement intended to rouse in us the sense of selfrespect and self-reliance. To check this movement, the Government have launched on a policy of oppression or repression. The preeent regime is a regime of Seditions meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act and other lawless laws.

Now our duty is clear. If we can conquer our own weakeness and present a solid front, the fate of tne Government is sealed The system of education imparted to us is not only useless but harmful. No attention is paid to infuse into us the spirit of Indian nationalism but our studies are made to serve the purpose of British Imperialism. The condition of the masses is heart rending. To counteract the tendencies of this bad system of education and to be of service to our poor brethdren, it is necessary that we should join the Volunteer Corps. Those who cannot be fulltimed workers are requested to join the Reserve Volunteer Corps.

Mr. Ignatius, a former student of the St. Joseph's, was then called upon to deliver his lecture. He made an eloquent and imaginative appeal to the students to join the National Volunteer Corps.

The following is the summary of his sppeech.

Serving our mother country is a privilege. Our duties have been made clear in the Amedabad Congress. We are apathetic not because of our ignorance of our duties but we want a little more screwing. We want the will to do The Indian National Congress has called upon every one of us to join the volunteer corps to fight the battle of our liberty. This is a battle in which we are not to kill but to be killed. This is a great massage which should be carried to the nations of the Earth.

This bloodless fight for freedom must be carried out by the youngmen of our country. The students with their pure hearts, have been the staunch supporters of freedom in every age and clime. Ther service is very pleasing to God. India wants freedom to serve humanity. The chronic state of the poverty of our poor brothers demands our immediate attention. To serve these ideals the students are asked to jion the volunteer Corps.

An accusation is borught against the students of Madras that they failed to respond to the call last year. There is yet ground for hope. Though the response was not whole-hearted, yet many of our friends left their colleges, notable Mr. A. K. Pillai of Travancore who returned from England in obedience to the call where he had gone to prosecute his studies.

Now is the supreme moment. The Ahemadabad Congress, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi,' the greatest Man of the World', has called upon every one of us to become volunteers, What are we going to do ? Are we going to turn a deaf ear to the plaintive appeals of Sri jut C, R, Das? Do you not feel the wholesale arrests of your brothers of Bengal for the crime of patriotism and for their enthusiam to serve the country ? The present system of education has made us slaves, Are you going to cloister yourselves within your colleges, hostels and homes and content yourselves with your Shakespeare and Milton? Or, are you going to serve yonr country? While the older generation among us Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar and Dr. Rajan are out to serve your country are you going to remain idee ? Youngmen have been ever thetorchbearers in the movement for national free dom. That we should not fake part in Poltis is a humbug. Thouaands of Gradutes and Under-graduates went out for active service from the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge when the last war was proclaimed· The great ideal of the Congress and the noble example of Prhalada all call upon us to join the national Volunteer Corps in our thousands.

Mr. Vasudevan then spoke and urged the students to join the Corps. Dr. Rajan, who had come to the meeting to see the proceedings was then requested to address the meeting. His speech ellivened by sparkling humour was much appreciatedt

He said he had been eagerly waiting for this opportunity. Last year his appeal was not very successful. But those who left their oolleges are doing useful work and they are better citizens and more useful than any B. A. (Hons.)

The present system of education is very bad, No attention is paid to the pariotic side of Education, The students are conspicuous by their indifference to theinterest of the country. No doubt they indulge in empty talk but as regards the practical side they have done nothing, They have not even taken to Khadi They cannot plead want of money. With the money they spent in witnessing dramas aud smoking Cigarettes, they can easily provide themselves with Khadder. The present condition of the students is such that if Visvamitra, Vyasa or Valimiki were to come here and see the eondition of their descendents their hearts would break.

It is is time that they begin to take interest in th the movement. They can at least wear Khadder and become Volunteers.

The speech over, Volunteer forms were dirtributed and many becaem volunteers on the spot. The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair-

This movement is an happy auguary for the future. The students have now come forward to do their duty. What are the Lawyeers going to do is the anxious question that is in the mouth of everybody in the town. Many of them sometime back sent a manifesto protesting against the extension of the Criminal Law Amendment act. Will their protest materialse? We hope and trust that now the students have come forward, they will also take this opportunity and lead the students in our march for freedom.

# Organisation for Work.

## MADRAS CITY.

(By K. P. APPA NAIR.)

In my last article, I urged the need for a strong volunteer organisation as a preparation for Civil Disobedience in this city. But the moment we have such an organisation, we do not become ripe for Civil Disobedience. The Delhi conditions have to be fulfilled in Madras city as anywhere else, before Civil Disobedience is to be thought of. As a matter of fact, it is wisdom to see that those conditions are fulfilled in cities much more satisfactorily than in the moffusil. For those conditions are conditions of caution, and who dare deny that caution is more in request in the case of cities than in the case of villages?

THE DELHI CONDITIONS.

The Delhi Conditions, relate to Swedeshi, removal of untouchability, non-violence, unity between creeds and temperance. It is essential that we look into the question of Civil Disobedince in the light of the results so far achieved, or yet to be achieved, under these heads.

SWEDESHI.

The most important of these conditions is Swedeshi. Apart from its economic value, it has been rightly emphasised by Mahatmaji that it has got a disciplinary value. The discipline which a universal adoption of Khaddar by the inhabitants of particular area presupposes, cannot be overestimated. When a whole people not only adopts Khadder in dress, but also makes the cloth they wear with their own hands, it is time enough to believe that the movement has reached every nook and corner of that area. The movement has not only reached, but it must have reached them in all its servious bearings. The people must have by that time trained themselves to undergo certain physical and mental training on behalf of the movement. The adoption of Swedeshi therefore is a Guarantee. It is a guarantee that there are not sections of people who are only insufficiently educated in the movement as the Moplahs of Ernad and Walluvanad turned out to be or as the hooligans of Madras and Bombay proved themselves to be on the occasion of an inoffensive royal visit.

HOW FAR HAS MADRAS ADOPTED SWEDESHI.

Madras has so far adopted Swedeshi only in a humorous way. In the first place, there is not, beyond doubt, any local production of Khaddar so for as Madras City is concerned. All the Khadar that is sold in Madras by a thousand and one Swedeshi shops that have suddenly sprung up like the soldiers out of the Dragon's teeth of old, is imported and not manufactured locally. And all the Khadder that is worn by the citizens and that is not much though an increasing item—is khaddar bought from such Dealers. That is so far as production is concerned.

In the matter of wearing only Swedeshi things, Madras has responded hitherto in a humorous way much mistaking the tragedy of the situation. Beginning with the richer classes, it has to be admitted that the moral and practical support of high placed individuals like Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar and others, has introduced the gospel of Swedeshi in wealthy houses But Mammon is not to be so easily worsted. I have it on good authority that the fashionable ladies of such homes ware Khaddar only specially dyed for that purpose, when they go out, but in their homes they wear rich and the most costly tapestried saries of silk and gold It is indeed a great relief that at last the fashion has changed, as the motar-car outings of these ladies testify, but what about their suitcases which are filled with foreign things ? Are homes to be filled with things which are considered to be unfit for wear outside. Are we to wash our bodies clean of alldirt, but at same the time, consume lots of it as food, without feeling the incongruity, not to say, the absurdity of it ? Of course I know that Mahatma Gandhi has in an unguarded moment, made an allowance to our weakness, and permitted us to wear foreign clothes at home and in private. But this concession clearly does not apply to the richer classes who can easily afford to burn their older stock and go in for new things. His clearest injunction to such, more than to others, is to burn—*Burn.*

Leaving the richer classes, we come to the middle classes. The vast bulk of businessmen and Government servants who form the middle classes of this city, have not to our great regret, yet adopted Swedeshi in this city. The latter have reasons of their own and we shall not meddle with them. But the lukewarmness of the vast and preponderating bulk of businessmen is attributable only to the weakness of Congress propaganda. There is no reason whatever why a strong and persistent propaganda carried on well organised lines should not convert the whole lot of them iuto ardent Congressmen and uncompromising Swedeshists.

The little encouragement however that we get is from the poorer classes. It is the rikshawalla, jutkawallah, the petty shopkeeper the mill-labourer andthe motley mass of un-enfranchised humanity that live from hand-to-mouth and that is the care and concern of none of our political "leaders" or the benign and paternal Government either, that actually adopt Swedeshi with all the piety, devotion and simplicity of their unsophisticated hearts. It is indeed a sight over which we rejoice. It is a sight that gives us hope! And it may in moments of anxiety, give us consolation and fill our eyes with not a few precious tears of joy in The future of the world is in their hands and not in those of the Diplomats and financiers of an asphyxiated civilisation. They are the hope of a God that wants to see peace and justice established on this earth. It is true statesmanship do guide them, nurse

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# From China to Peru

## (By Globe Trotter.)

The hope of the London "Times" does not bid fair to be realised. M. Poincare's policy which he has now stated unequivocally does not hold out the prospect of an Anglo-French Alliance in the near future. Of course the essential preface to the statement of his policy is the expression of hope that England and France would conclude the Alliance and live for ever in perfect amity and mutual cordial relations. It is the usual preface to such political speeches. It is just likethe speeches of our Lord Reading which come out of the tip of his tongue but not from the deeper reservoir of the heart. It is lip sympathy. What follows, the body of the speech gives the lie direct to the preface. M. Poincare wants Germany to pay as arranged at Versaillaes and France wants also the cessation of Turko-Greek hostilities so that shemight derive the best results from the Angora Convention. The act of making Germany pay is not in itself a very objectionable matter to England, but when the payment is to her neighbour France, andthe neighbour latterly cultivating imperialistic ambitions, England rightly suspects that she is a bit inconvenienced in mind Whatever other reason there is for the serious difference on this point between England and France, it is difficult for laymen to understand. In the other matter namely the Angora convention and the demandof France for the cessation of Turko Greek hostilitees, there is acute difference between the two nations. Readers may remember that sometime ago the correspondence between the French and British Governments on the question of the Angora Pact was publis hed and that it revealed considerable heat developments in the relation of the two nations that had hitherto been twins and first cousins, comrades in arms, and companions in the distribution of spoils. England objected to France vacating Cilesia on several technical reasons, the gist of all such reasons being the fancied danger to her Imperialistic career in the Middle East. Now France not only refuses to remain in Cilesia but demands that Turko Greek hostilities shall cease. Those who have suspected clandestine handshakes between Lloyd George and M Venizelos will easily understand the dismay of the British Government at the new proposal, or rather demand. The French Premier however is stern and what is more he has got 470 members of the Chamber to support him. Perhaps that is a more solid support than Lloyd george has in the Parliament. Let the two premiers fight the duel We will "wait and see" in company of old Mr. Asquith.

### Black and Tans

It is rumoured that the Black and Tans who are going to be withdrawn from Ireland are to be sent toPalestine where under the camouflage of mandate, the brother of Edwin Samuel Montagu holds absolute monarchy over millions of people, newly cut away from the TurkishGovernment as a result of the war. There isnow a contradiction of the rumour also saying that the Blackand Tans are not to be taken there. May be. But the Black and Tans sure as anything, must leave Ireland and find employment elsewhere. It cannot be in England or in the Dominions where self-Government obtains, it must be in Egypt, India, Mesopotamia, Palestine and other Imperial assets of Great Britain. Before long it can be known however.

### China

The treaty signed between China and Persia in the latter part of the year 1920 is now placed before the Leauge of Nations committee. The Alliance between China and Persia is amatter of course in the scheme of Asiatic resurrection. Rather than go out of the way like Japan to conclude Alliances with far off nations like England, Ameeica or France, it is better that Asiatic nations set their housss in order by strengthening their corporate existence againist the inroads of outsiders. Persia and China are both young nations in one sense. It is in the sense that they have recently started their modern national existence. Do we not all wish them God-speed in their new career as comrades in arms?

China has moreover done a very funny thing which has placed the Great Powers on an unenviable position. She has asked them all to publish the texts of all treaties, secret and open, made among themselves in which the affairs of China are involved. The first doubt is whether the nations concerned would do this and whether China has got the power to see that her legitimate demands are complied with If however, the force of world opinion, apart from the strength of China, is able to force their hands to publish such treaties it will be a very interesting episode in human history over which contemporary mankind can enjoy a nine days laughter, not wonder. It will be side splitting laughter indeed to see the big nations of the world each carrying a heavy bundle of dirty linen to be washed in public. I wish some clever cartoonist like my friend Mr. Doodle would take up the subject for his next appearance with choice humour for public consumption.

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them, for the future of humanity. Let not the grinding wheel of centuries turn, and turn, and still turn till they burst and send this solid globe of ours into flying fragments whistlingabout in space till the whole universe becomes an anarchic wilderness.

### HOW TO SATISFY THE SWEDESHI TEST.

Such being the condition of Swedeshi in our City, we have simply to fulfil the Swedeshi test rigorously before we think of Civil Disodedience. No Congressman or Congress organisation dare say that the task is impossible. It isnotdifficult for the warrior who ha declared open war on the mightiest Empire of the day. The City Congress Committee must take up this work. Money must be forthcoming and men must be forthcoming. We must produce the cloth we want in our city and wear the same. A golden opportunity was lost during the last labour strike. A few thousands or tens of thousands of rupees from the Congress would have converted the thousands of labourers into spinners and weavers Even the belated gran of 3,0000 Rupees can do much. I hope it is indeed doing much. But the test of its sufficiency is whether Madras is producing all the cloth it wants. If it fails that test, more money must come. There is no use of supplicating the Provincial C. Committee for funds. Madras is not yet a bankrupt city. Given enthusiam, determination, a plan, and men, the money will come and work will proceed. The organisation of volunteers for which I pleaded last week, will bring the work into the field of practical politics may I appeal to the City Congress Committee to try whether all this is not possible?

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# Anxious Days,

## "Scarchlight turned at Ourselves."

### MAHATMA DEFINES SWARAJ

Mahatma Gandhi contributes an article to the current issue of the *nava Jivan*, his Gujarati weekly paper, in which he endeavours to define Swaraj and expresses the fears and doubts which trouble him at the present juncture.

I do not know what is the best course at this moment. I am positively shaking with fear. If a settlement were to be made, then where are we to go? Although I will miss no opportunity of a settlement, still after having come to know the strength of India, I ām afraid of a settlement. What will be our condition if a settlement is made, before we have been thoroughly tested. It would be like that of a child, prematurely born, which will perish in a short time.

### FOREIGN PARALLELS.

In Portugal, the Government was changed in a moment as a result of revolution. In that country now revolutions are constantly occurring, and no one constitution endures. In Turkey, when all of a sudden the Government was changed in the year 1906, congratulations came in from all sides, but this was only a 9 days' wonder. The change was like a dream. After that Turkey had to suffer much, and who knows how much more suffering is still in store for that brave people. On account of such experiences I am often plunged in anxiety.

### NO SWARAJ WITHOUT SWADESHI.

After pointing out that Swaraj is a condition of mind and that mental condition of India has been challenged, Mahatma Gandhi expresses his conviction that without the Charka, India will not earn Swaraj. Moreover, the conviction, that true education did not consist in the knowledge of letters but in character and manual labour and industry had not yet become general. Parents have not been weaned from the charm of the knowledge of letters. In Nadiad many parents are not at all prepared to remove their children from Government High Schools or prepared to send their children to National Schools. Have we anywhere come to know that justice must not be costly? Up to this very moment, leaders of religious sects who are looked upon as the pillars of religion are still hoping to get decisions from the Privy Council on their religious disputes. Pleaders are not yet free from the charms of heavy fees.

### HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY.

Dealing with the Hindu-Mahommedan Unity, Mahatma Gandhi points out that mutual suspicion between the Hindus and the Mahomedans had not yet disappeared. They were not united in the pursuit of the one goal for the country. Their hearts were not united, though they were on the way to being so. If a settlement were now to be madē, that process would be interrupted. Until complete union has been established, the talk about Swaraj is useless.

### PEACE AS A WEAPON.

Nor, says Mahatma Gandhi, is he able to find the admission that Non-co-operation is peaceful. We regard peace as a weapon of the weak man and do not appreciate the value of this weapon, and so we degrade it. Those who use the name of peace for the purpose of doing acts of violence are traitors not only to their country, but to the whole world, Until India has learnt the lesson of using peace as a weapon of strength, until then we must keep ā mile off any settlement, as if it were a thing untouchable.

Mahatma Gandhi insists on the necessity of the removal of untouchability before a settlement is possible. In conclusion, Mahatma Gandhi asserts that India will only win independence and Swaraj when we have acquired strength to die of our own free will. Then there is Swaraj. Everything else is like a mirage.

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# Our Kerala Letter

(From our own Correspondent).

### Mr. ANDREWS.

We are now rather very busy with Mr. Andrews. When he went to Bombay he had seen Mahatma Gandhi and induced him to grant a lakh of rupees for relief. After his return from Bombay he has set about the work in right earnest.

### A DINNER

Mr. Andrews was at Dinner with the local Congress workers last night. It was a very, very happy function. We all liked Mr. Andrews unāssuming and polished manners and enjoyed the heartiness of his conversation. Every stray word of his carried a message of brotherly love for the Indian. We never felt all along the function that we were with an Englishman. We felt that we were with one of our kith and kin. Mr. Andrews intends starting for Erned in a day or two.

### CONGRESS REFUGEES.

The number of refugees now on the rolls of the Congress camps is 7000. Though the rebellion is scotched, these poor people are afraid to go back to their old homes.

### Mr. KESAVA MENON'S LETTER.

The statement issued by Mr. Kesava Menon and other Congress workers some days back protesting against the reference of the Presidents of the Muslim League and Khilafat Conference to the Moplah rebellion, had created a disagreeable atmosphere here. The Moplahs were angry with the Congress leaders. But Mr. Andrews and Mr. Menon are giving several interviews to the Moplah leaders of the place, and these interviews are māking the desired effect on them. It is hoped that in a short time they can be made to understand and sympathise with the attitude of Congress leaders.

### THE "PASS."

Moplahs have no need of the "Pass" now. They are freely coming from several places in Ernad. Dreadful revelations are likely to come to our knowledge, now that the Moplah side also is available.

### A New Publishing Compnny

Arrangements are in progress in Kerala to float a big printing and publishing company to be known as the Kerala Printing and Publishing Company, promoted by the Congress leaders of the province. Mr. K. Madhavan Nair, is going to be the Managing Director. The company will publish a new Malayalam newspaper at least a Triweekly in the beginning but intended to develop into a daily, called the "Mathruhumi." Mr. Kesava Menon will edit the paper. Every one in the province is enthusiastic about the new enterprise. The capital will be divided into 20,000 share of Rupees five each. The need of a nationalist paper is a long felt one in Kerala. It will perhaps be no exaggeration to say that if such an organ existed even before, the Congress gospel would have spread much better and Moplah rebellion made impossible.

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THE
CONGRESSMAN

27th JANUARY, 1922.


### MR. ANDREWS IN KERALA.

It is not always that the human mind can assay with success to penetrate the veil of secrecy behind which the silent workings of a mysterious Divinity that from the snowy hights of the "Home of Snows" or the smoky depths of Pluto's realm of the nether world or the airy expanse of the uncircumscribed sky, or from what places no one knows, control the mainspring of human evolution on this planet which has fallen to the lot of man as his paternal share. Great upheavals, titanic calamities, and worldshaking events have left permanent and indelible marks on the fair face of our mother earth The narrow vision of Liliputian man in its frogish circumvention has only looked on, dazzled and dazed but powerless to decipher a single script in which god has written his programcme for Man's Drama on earth. The uninstructed rebellion of Malabar is not in demensions comparable to the epochmaking collisions of the people with "constututed" authority, which chequer the long pages of written history, but who can yet say that in its understood bearings on Indian destiny and ultaim ately on human destiny, it is second to any in the world's annals? That it has retarded the progress of the freedom of one-fifth of mankind is only too patent, but the incarceration of the Ali Brothers and the conse quent challenge of the people of IndiatotheGovernment to impris onawhole nation rather than attempt to prune and prob and-mutilate its religious freedom, followed by the attempted high-handness of suppression of volunteers which was promptly ansuerved bythe multiplication of the numerical strength of the movement by a thousand fold followed again by the incarcerations of the tribunes of the Indian people, Chitta Ranjan, Lalaji, Nehruji amongothers. are not all these directly traceable inthe speed oftheir execution to the otherwise most unfortunate Moplah Rebellion? That there fore the Malabar episode is one of the landmarks of Indian History is what we urge our readers to accept.

When once the supreme importance of Malabar is grasped there is no conceivable excuse on earth for neglecting to hasten to the solution of the remaining problems of that episode. After long and weary days of trial and turmoil therefore, the suffering people of Malabar and their leaders will at lastsigh a long and long expected sigh of relief at the visit of that great priend of India, Mr C. F. Andrews to Malabar. In the darkest days of the rebellion when the sky reverberated with ominous thunder and the clouds grew darker and darker. when any single tiny silver ray would have been a precious godsendtothe terrorstrickers people th unreasoning attitude of a peevish Government deprived Malabar of the solace and practical help of visitors from outside. Neither the adored freind and leader of southIndian Mussalmans andthe beloved comrade of the Moplahs themselves, to wit Mr. Yacob Hasan who volunteered to risk his life in the cause of the Congress, peace and Humamity by descending directly upon the rebels and cajoling them to methods of non-vio'ence, nor Mahatma Gandhi himself whose attempted visit, if unobstructed, would have made it possible for the historian to write a diametrically opposite marrative of the Malabar of the last six months were allowed to visit the place by the extreme niggardliness of a panicky Government which professed bombastic solicitude for the lives and property of the habitants of that district How the visit of a Prince of peace like Mahatma Gandhi would have accentuated bitterness and accelerated bloodshed, it is impossible for uninitiated human understanding to divine. Let the conscience of a Government answerable on Doomsday at least to their and our common God for their conduct in authority over millions of alien human beings, solve that riddle for itself. No such thing is our concern.

Our immediate purpose is to draw the attention of all dutiful-Indians that carry their hearts with them to the crying need of Malabar, as that strciken district of India kneels in prayerful hope before. the bar of Indian public opinion. A beautiful spot on earth, second to none in natural splendour and pictures queness, second to none in fertility and beauty, second not even to the glorious-kashmir the flower garden of Hindustan, is today lying prostrate dishevelled, disfigured, rolling on the gronnd all drenched in tears of indescribable sorrow. God knows who is responsible, but the broad fact is there that several communities who lived in perfect amity and fraternal co-operation with one another for centures in spite of the artifical cleavages of religion of caste, of race and of sect are to-day intoxicated by the hypnotic madness of mutual bitterness and stand before the world as the miserable victimi of a sweeping epidemic of hatred, revenge and indiscriminate blood shed bloo perhaps now awakened to the height of their folly and praying in their heart of hearts for mutual rapproachment and fraternal embraces crowned with the olive of for giveness andcemented with the balm of remorseful tears Human mature which is the offspring of God's invisible control of the subtle workings of the human mind cannot but react from the mad fury of diabolical carnage to the supreme halo of repentant peace regenerated brotherliness, and therefore redoubld affection and love. And it is a maniefesation of the proverbial incrutableness of God's divine dispensations, that at this particular moment of far-reaching potentialities the very chosen agent of peace and harmony on earth, the crowning ornament of the religion of Jesus whose life message was nothing but peace in the service of humanity, whose Bible was compassed in the inimitable passage where the blow to the right cheek is cammanded to be returned in the only way of offering the left one for the same gracious treatment at the hand of youri gnorantbrother-call him assailant or what you will-it is at this supreme moment that one of the greatest kings of peace, Mr. C. F. Andrews, the adored of the East and West, the a opted father of the orphan chillern of this unenfranchised filth of humanity that are just walking on their knees against the onslaught of an unmerciful civislisation and its mailfisted protagonists, thought it proper to set his gracious blessed feet on the bleeding soil of the fair mother of theMalayali race. The future of the land of Parusurama is in his hands and the millions of Kerala feel alsolutely secure in his fondling hands. With Mr. Andrews has gone to Malabar the organised sympathy of rightthenking humanity, with him has gone to malabar the fraternal soliciations and solicitude of the millions of Hindustan and what is more, the active help and Co-operation of the whole mass of humam beings that inhabit Bharata punyabhumi is there along with Mr- Andrews. What is it that Malabar wants? Is it money, isit men from outside, is it sympathy and good will is it Messenger after messenger of place that she wants so that recent sores may be healed, amity and freindship established, and the barque of prospriety floated on the lmitless ocean of eternity-Is it all these and more that Malabar wants? She shall onlyrepresent them to Mr Andrews and the great soul which embraces within its spacious wings the whole circumference of this universe shall not flutter without bringing in its tr inthe moral spmpatly and practical support of articulate humanity.

### MAHATMAJEE'S ANXIETY.

The *Swarajya* of date yesterday publishes an Associated Press Message which epitomises a very recent article which. Mahatma Gandhi contrubuted to his Guzarate Organ, the *Navajivan*. The article is most opportune at this time when people's minds are riveted on the prospect of a settlement and the expected holiday from active work and suffering. In the first place it must be noted that the chances of an honourable settlement as matters stand at present are far from hopeful and in the second place, even if such a settlement is profferred, Mahatma Gandhis trained intelligence informs him that it will be a little premature rnd derogatory to the best interests of India as far as he could comprehend such interests. What could according to Mahatmajee be the best interests of India? Now for some time, he has been declaring in the press and on the platform that in his corporate capacity as the mouth piece of the nation, he is working and is entitled to work, only for Parliamentary Swaraj according to the wishes of the people of India. But the last clause, namely "according to the wishes of the people of India" is pregnant with meaning for Mahatmajee and it is the complications of that seemingly simple condition which occasioned Mahatmajee the very painful searchings of heart which he has given vent to in the article in question in the columns of the "Navajivan." What are the wishes of the *people* of India and how far are they ascertained at the present moment? There is of course no doubt that the people of India desire and demand in unanimous voice and unequivocal terms the immediate dis-establishment of the British Bureaucratic Government in the land and the establishmeut in place of what they dimly visualise as Gandhiraj. But what is this Gandhiraj?— do they know? Mahatm Gandhi knows it. It is to him nothaing less than a spiritualised nationhood in which every individual in Society performs his *Dharma* and lives in peace and prosperity with his fellowmen. It is the prosperity that is strewn on the path of virtue and self-consciousness and not the chimerical prosperity which ill-gotten wealth and pride commands. Gandhiji's Swaraj is the Swaraj in which every individual shall have the virtues of self reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control, the three virtues that lead to soveriegn power as illustrated in the instance of Mahatmaje himself. Have the people of India incorporated these and kindred virtues universally enough to satisfy the standard of Mahatmajee? Have they become self-conscious enough and demonstrated such self-consciousness in the triple boycott of Law, Education and Legislature, in the matter of Khadi production and consumption, in the boycott of intoxicating liquor, in the matter of untouchabilty, Hindu Muslim Unity and a hundred other issues that have been placed before the country? Mahatmajee searches his heart in vain for an emphatic "Yes" to these queries. But, no, the reply must come from the people of India themselves in

the only possible way that Mahatmajee can understand, namely the fulfilment of every item of the self-purifying programme of non-co-operation which Mahatmajee has placed before the country as the acid test of their fitness for Swaraj. Till then our beloved Mahatma will only pine away in anxiety.

# NOTES

## Guntur

So Guntur has led the Van! Mahatma Gandhi desired postponement, but the over flowing enthusiasm of the people of Guntur decided the issue. Now the time is gone for discussing whether Gunturites were right or wrong in over-stepping Mahatmajees wishes. People all over India look to Guntur now with one wish, namely, that God may Give them Complete success in their noble and brave venture.

## Depressed Classes

But what do the Government mean when they talk of dividing the confiscated lands among depressed classes? For ourselves we fail to see any depressed classes in India. All of us, Indians are elevated enough to repose our faith in God and desist from grabbing at other people's lands, Oil, minerals and such like which are ultimately converted into midnight dances and Bachanalian festivals. We refuse to believe that the class that has produced a Nandanar or a Pakkanar is depressed. For God's sake, let not the Government add insult to injury by calling some of us "depressed" and so on, though we know that they are treating the whole Indian nation as a huge encampment of plantation coolies. By the way we are inclined to think that the Government are seeing their own reflected in the mirror, when they are talking of depressed classes.

## Special Police

And so the Inspector-General of Police in instructed so send special Police to the Guntur District. The threat is held out that the inhabitants of the particular area will have to pay for the special force. May we respectfully submit to the Government that they need not have gone out of their way to make this statement. We know that so far within the last 200 years, not a single penny was brought from England to this country for maintaining any Government department. It has always been taken from the people of India. If it is not the taxpayer of that particular Taluk that has to pay, some other tax payer in some other corner of India has to pay for it. It is all the same to the Government, and we may remind the Government that it is all the same to people also, now that the whole nation has begun to think like one man. We would suggest to the Government not to trouble themselves hereafter with issuing statements as to the sources of their income for this and that.

## Expedition Laws

The Government can do whatever they like with laws. They can make laws, they can destroy laws, they can supplement laws, and they can mutilate laws. Anything can be done when it suits their laws. It is this conviction that has made Indians withdraw their support and respect from the laws of this Government. The latest illustration of the fact that laws are mere appendages of the Executive is the Government *communique* or the no-tax campaign. There they propose to amend the law concerning attachment and sale, so as to expedite such processes. And we can rest assured that amendment will be effected in no time. But do we not know it to our cost that when any non-official member of any Legislative Council wants to induce the Government to undertake some legislation for the people's good, that proposal has to pass through the dreary "red tape and circumlocution" of bureaucratic officialdom before it sees the light of day, if at it sees such light at any time? How many months have passed since the Repressive Laws Committee reccommended the repeal of certain laws and the Government accepted such reccommendation? But why should the Government be in a hurry about such things, especially when delay means the death of mighty apparents like the *Independent, Akali* and other paper?

## Raped to Death

The Daily Newspapers have published the report that a Waduva woman in Guntur was raped to death by soldiers. The Government have not, to our knowledge, contradicted the report. The Government of Lord Reading and the English nation had better take care what they do in the country. We are not going to forget every thing. When the moment of peace comes, we will enter the conference hall with a register of England's in quities in our right hand. And we are not going to conclude any peace without each and every one of them is satisfactorily accounted for by the British people. And if the English nation can demand reparations from Germany for damages done to herself, France, Belgium and every other little Principality that has got a grievance against Germany, we do not see why India should not adopt the course and ask England to pay for the damages she has done and is doing to India Let England understand that the life of the unfortunate waduva woman is not less precious than that of Miss Cavell and that the honour of Indian womanhood is not less dear to us than the honour of Belgian woman was to that country.

## The Round Table Conference

We would invite the attention of our readers to the article published elsewhere from the pen of Mr. Surynarayana Iyer of Tanjore. The writer is a member of the All India Congress Committee, the Editor of a widely circulated Tamil Journal, a leader of public opinion in the South, and above all one of the representatives of Madras Presidency at the Bombay Conference. His conclusions are therefore arrived at from first hand impressions and the public as well as the Government are bound to give due respect to them. "Now or Never" is the time for the Government to come to an honourable settlement with the people, according to the writer. We fully endorse the view.

## Madras Student

The Madras student is slumbering, may we say snoring? Chitta Ranjam may be arrested Motilal may go and Lalaji may sleep in prison, his sleep shall not be disturbed. It is a hypnotic sleep, A mighty phsychic revolution must come before he regains his normal wakefulness. The mightiest of such revolutions has come but he wants something mighteer still God knows what it shall be. Meanwhile the freedom of the country is delayed, the length of and such delay varying directly as the length of time our student burns his midnight oil over the classic lore of ancient grace poetic gen us of Byron, the Rennaiscance movement the Prythagoras Theorem, the Parreldelogram of Horees or the length of sound waves.

## The Y. M. C. A.

The visit of Mr. Andrews to Malabar has drawn the Y. M. C. A. a little more into the humanitarian work of relief in Malabar. What else could be expected of them when one of the truest of Christians is there personally to lead the work. We have no hesitation in saying that over and above the christians who are Mr. Andrews' coreligionists his broad sympathies and largeness of mind will win for him the unstinted support of all communities and religions. We wish godsspeed to the work of Malabar Reconstruction, begun evidently under happy auspices.

## Obedience

The ryots of Godaveri and Kistna districts were asked to suspend payment of taxes by the Andhra Congress leaders. In view of Mahatmajee's letter to the President of the Andhra Committee offensive civil disobedience or non—payment of taxes has been limited to the Guntur district. The ryots with few exceptions implicitly obeyed the mandate of the Congress leaders when the latter asked them to suspend payment of taxes. A fortnight later, the same leaders asked them to pay up the January Kist. Do the ryots murmur, No. "Their's not to reason why Their's but to do and die" is the motto of the masses in Andhradesa. What would happen of in every other province, if the leaders had the same control over the masses?

## Equality

Mahadeo Desai, the young Malaviyas and a number of Congress volunteers were travelling under police escort. The compartment was over—crowded. When the train stopped, the Sergeant got down and permitted Desai, Malavjyas and two others to occupy a more comfortable compartment. The leaders politely replied that any seven might be permitted to go to the other compartment. Every congress leader will do well to take a lesson from the attitude of Sreeman Desai and the Malaviyas In every province the largest share of the sufferings has fallen on the heads of the ranks and file. Hence it shall be the duty of every local leader to convince his followers that he is as willing to forego all his comforts as any of them are. A mistaken impression in the minds of the youthful followers that they have all the risks and their leaders all the prestige and reputation will be the greatest blow to the national cause.

## Professors' Mentality

Every student of the Presidency College who applied for a ticket but failed to take part in the Prince's receptions, is asked to explain the cause of his absence in writing to the Principal. The written explanation is forwarded through the Professor. The Professors of the Presidency College may be conveniently divided into three groups. The first group in most cases, as dissatisfied with the explanation given by the student. The professor asks the student to write a more satisfactory explanation. The second group advises the student to get out of the scrape in a practical manner. The third group is bold and straight-forward. "Write nothing but the truth in your explanation" says the professor.

## Clever Lawyers

A very large majority of the law students are nationalists. Let us not be mistaken. They are determined to be practising vakils. They have too much of practical wisdom to suspend their practice. The system of asking for explanation is not extended to the Law College. The authorities are helpless in their dealings with students of law. The students, with their legal knowledge, will have the explanation so cleverly worded that the college authorities cannot find fault with them. In addition to this the explanation will be of such a nature as to please the non-co-operator too.

## SIR SANKARAN NAIR.

The burden of Sir Sankaran Nair's pitiful song which the "Times of India" gave publication to, is, as it will for ever be, a masterpiece of self—interested and catering politics But one day or other, will not Sir Sankaran say to his "Cromwell".

Had I but served my "Land" with half the zeal I served the king, "It" would not have deserted me in my old age.—

**(THE WORLD'S GREATEST MAN Mahatma Gandhi)**

BY J. H. HOLMES.

Mr. J. H. Holmes impress the Americans on the Greatness of the Mahatma, pointing him out as the WORLD'S GREATEST MAN and emphatically asserts, "such a policy (Non-Violent Non-Co-operation) if effectively carried out would destroy the English Rule in India." After paying a tribute to the Mahatma's political activities and sincerity of his motives, he says "When I think of Roll. and I think of Tolstoy; when I think of Lenin I think of Napoleon but when I think of Gandhi I think of Jesus Christ. He lives His life, he speaks His word, he suffers, strives and will some day nobly die for His Kingdom upon earth."

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## Editor's Notice.

**The Editor will be very glad to publish original articles from all leading writers. The "Congressman" is intended to cater to the enduring aspects of the national movement to which the dailies cannot cater. It is only in weeklies that such a thing can be attempted.**

## An Appeal

TO MY STUDENT FRIENDS.

By T. V. VASUDEVAN,
CONGRESS OFFICE, TRICHY.

"Theirs is the inspiration behind the movement; theirs the victory;. They are the torch bearers of the time; they are the pilgrims on the road. If suffering has been their lot victory is their due."—*C. R. Das.*
Friends,

If ours is to be the inspiration, if ours is to be the victory if we are to be the torch bearers if we are to be the pilgrims on the road, we have yet to fulfil certain fundamental conditions of National life. Victory is our due only IF suffering has been our lot. Has it been our lot in this part of the country?

I would say that we have not yet made even the minimum amount of sacrifice required of us. "The sacrifice of money is the least proof of earnestness which a believer in any cause can give" says Lala Lajput Roy. At the present day the wearing of Khaddar is the least proof of earnestness. It does not demand even the least sacrifice that Lalaji has fixed for us. We get Khaddar in return for our money; what we lose in cash we get in kind. The wearing of Khaddar may be objected to by certain nervous principals of Colleges;for the Political significance it carries with it; may act as a red rag on their eyes. But shall we be dictated to even in the matter of our food and dress? It is a good thing that objection is not taken to the use of Khaddar in some of our Colleges. It may be due to indifference but I would even welcome a condemnation of and a crusade against khaddar, as was done at the Vizagapatam Medical School, if not for anything else, atleast for the sake of testing the mettle of our friends. It is no good saying that you have bought khaddar but have sent it to the wash. At the least every one must have two sets of khaddar clothes. You need not even send it to the washerman —nothing like a clean wash with "Washwell."

The next point I want to touch upon is the National Volunteer Corps. In the Boycott of schools days, to our shame it must be confessed that our response was not all that it ought to have been. In this connection I would like to refer to the cheap jeer, that the Hon'ble Mr. Md. Mean Shafi the education member of the Government of India with all his wisdom and knowledge of statistics, made while repudiating the fact that more than 90% of the population of India was with Mahathma Gandhi. If they are with him why have not all the students vacated the Colleges and the Government servants resigned their services, he asked. But one would wish the education member had his wits about him while he was putting forth this silly argument. For what after all is the percentage of English educated men and women in India; it is less than one percent and the percentage of people studying in all Schools and Colleges is only 2½. You require only English knowing people for your services. If that be so what about the 98% that do not go to your schools and services? A swallow cannot make a summer and these exceptions will only prove the general rule that the Nation is with Mahatma Gandhi. This is only by the way. I have said that we had failed when the first call was made on us, Shall the same blame be cast against us even now. Look at the magnificient responses that young Bengal is making to the MOTHER'S Call. Hundreds of young men are filling the Jails every day. They have realised that "No amount of repression or espionage can stop the wave of Nationalism—that Indian Nationalism is in that condition when repression, death sentences and imprisonments are more beneficial to it than otherwise. It is a seed that is richly fertilised by the blood of the MARTYRS, They do not argue, they do not reasen, they do not analyse. They are the MARTYRS of the National Cause" (Lajapat Rai,) Suffering has been their lot and theirs is rightly the Victory. Shall we here sit with folded arms—poring over open Books, with swollen eyes,—swollen not with tears for the wounds inflicted upon our Motherland but with the effect of sleepless nights, with hearts beating not with emotion in the country's cause but with the terrors of an appreaching examination.? Is that all to be our answer to the bugle call of the Nation. Let it not be said of us that at the time of the greot National crisis we failed, miserably failed to do our part of duty and were found wanting even for a second tima. It is the Students that are fighting Freedom's battle in Egypt;it is the students that achieved the republic for China; it is the students that have won the war for England. To onr humiliation in our country boys are not wanting who would even forsake their country, for the sake of a blue scarf and a green tnrban and the simile of an affable Prince. I believe you guess to what I am referring) I mean the disgracefui level to which our scouts have descended. The orginal oath of the Indian Boy Scouts Association was for God Crown and country. After the amalgamation with the Govt. organised Boy Scouts Of India the country has been dropped. Be it said to the credit of the Shivaji Troop of the ossociation that they refused to become members of the amalgamated association at such a heavy price. Even at this late hour it is not yet too late for our friends of the Boy Scouts of India to leave off and join the National Volunteer Corps. With their discipline and training they would be an asset to the corps. Wear pure Khadi for khakai and do fall in with the National Ranks. The country has been humiliated by Deshabandhu Das the chosen representatives of the Nation being clapped into prison. His appeals ought to have gone deep into your hearts and kindled the slymbering feeling of patriotsm in you. Join the national Volunteers Corps and redeem your honour as well as the Country's.

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## Trichinopoly District Congress Sabha

### REPRESSION.

SIR,

Herewith a connected report on REPRESSION in Trichinopoly Dt. from the beginning up-to-date.

ORDERS UNDER SECTION I44.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 E. V. Ramasami Naicker of Erode.<br>2- T. G. Jankiram Naidu of Karur.<br>3. Ganapthi Sarma of Karur<br>4. Kuppa Roa Karur<br>5. Md. Hussain of Trichy | Karur Town and Five miles Radius limit. | Two months from 6—9—21. |
| 6. S. Nateso Iyer of Kurumbalur<br>7. C. Namasivayam "<br>8. Chulam Moideen "<br>9. S. Venkatramansalye | Perambur Taluq. | Two months from 30—9—21. |
| 10 T. S. Sivasubramaniam of Turaiyur<br>11 S. Natesa Iyer of Kurumbalur | Turaiyur | Two months from 3—12—21 |
| 12 T. S. Sivasubramaniam Turaiyur<br>13 Govindasawmi of Karikal | Musiri Taluq | " " |
| 14 Krishnamurthi Naidu-Krur<br>15 Mathilaimuthu Asari " "<br>16 Kandasawmi Chettiar " " | Karur Town. | Two months from 25—12—21 |
| 17 S. Venkatarama Iyer<br>18 R. Krishnamurthi<br>19 Ramalingam Pillai of Namakkal | Karur Town | Two months from 18—12—22 |

20 S. Natesa Iyer of Kurumabalur Perambur Taluq 2 month from 20-1-22.

MINOR CHARGES.

1. Kanniah Naidu, Trichy. 3 Month S. I. Rs. 50 in default 15 days S. I. from 1—9=21.) for PICKETTING
2. Rajgopal Naidu, Karur One week S. I. "
3. P. R. Narasimhachari, Srirangam, 3 months R: I. from 11-1-22., under Seotion 112 Cr. P. C.

SECURITY PROCEEDINGS UNDER SECTION 107.

Messrs. Kandasawmi Chettiar and Krishnamurthi Naidu President and Secy., respectively, Karur Taluq, Congress Committee, who were to disobey an order under Section 144 on 12—1—22 were arrested on 1?-1-22 after noon, produced before the Divisional Officer on 13-1-22 forenoon, and sentenced to one year S. I., each for refusing to furnish security for good behaviour.

Yours,
T. V. Vasudaven, Office Manager
for Secretaries.

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## Books and Reviews

HIND SWARAJ.

We have received from Messrs G. A Natesan & Co a copy of the famous book-let "*Hind Swaraj*" by M. K, Gandhi. In these days of incessant political activity, Mahatma Gandhi's literary output in the form of speaches and writings, is well nigh incompassable. But we doubt if all through his singular career in life, he has made a more permament contribution to political thought than *Hund Swaraj*. All the novel ideas of political policy which he has introduced into this country within these last two eventful years, he has condensed in this little volume and what is more, they stand in this booklet in all their freshness of idealism, quite unlike the compromises his principles have undergone in their effort to reconcile with the hard facts of a matter-of-fact world.

The book is a clear and dispassionate impeachment of modern civilisation and the impeachment is more powerful because dissapassionate. Mr. Gandhi in his ininet able way has gone to the elements of modern civilisation and taking them out one by one,mercilessly expused their hol'owness, Many European and Eastern writers have of late attacked modern civilisation with varying force, but it will perhaps be no exaggeration to say that Mr. Gardhi's attack is the fierest of all. In fact Mr. Gandhi wants modern civilisation to go—bag and baggage, and what he wants in its place, at least so far as India is concerned, is a return to the hoary civilisation of India. Of late Moderates and even Lord Ronalds-hay had found it profitable to quote from Hind Swaraj to scare people away from the Non-Cooperation movement, but the simple and beeutiful reply that Mr. Gandhi has given to such attempts, in the little preface/to this book, is worth perusal by all whose minds have been afflicted with the fear of Railways, Hospitals, Law Courts, machinery, etc., vanishing in Gandhis Swaraj. Gandhi says in it, that though his hearts' desire is to establish a system of Swaraj of the kind outlined in his booklet, his present endeavour in a corporate capacity is to establish Parliamentary Swaraj according to the wishes of the people of India. The former, though "a consummation devoutly to be wished for" he would leave to time and the gradua voluntary acceptance by the people of India themselves. The charge that he was mancuvring to foist his fads npon a credulous people, is to say the least, unworthy of those who make it, for a Satyagrahi like Gandhi, does not deal in secret designs. His truth is absolute and unqualified and transparent.

All the same, the future of India, it seems to us is condensed into this little book. The whole philosophy of no-co-operation is there in its original freshness and beauty and the India of the non-co-operators is, unconsciously to themselves, moving to that. And there is no retracing, for we are committed to it well enough by this time. If the *Hind Swaraj* is realised on earth, as it appears likely at not a very distant date, that 'consummation' would dwarf the Utopians of History; for they planned, while it will stand to the immortal glory of Gandhi that he planned and executed.

The form of the treatise is the Platonic Dialogue, but Gandhi seems to have scored over Plato in simplicity, clearnes, directness and force.

This book we can easily predict, will go down to posterity as one of the wonders of the world. Every Indian, co-operator or non-co-operator must read it, because the relation between it and the future of India is patent.

# THE WEEK'S RECORD

### U. P.

Two arrests were made in U. P. for making violent speeches.

A Jhaunsi message says that six volunteers were arrested an 21st. They have been sentenced from 4 months to six months each.

Radhakania Mala viajaji resigned his seat in the council finding it useless.

### Punjab.

The Press act is in full swing in Lahore and securities are beings forfeited and new ones demanded.

The Assistant Jailor of Patna has tendered his resignation in pursuance of the Congress call.

The securities of A kali and Liyya have been forfeited.

Barrister Shurwni has been struck off the rolls of H.C. as a penalty for alleged "moral turpitude".

### Bengal.

In Calcutta meetings were held in parks in defiance of Government orders and president and speakers were arrested. While Mrs. Muzumdar was addressing in college squar she was asked politely to stop by a police officer to which she heroically replied that she would not stop unless and until she was arrested or shot In that meeting 26 volunteers and 18 speakers were arrested.

Volunteers are vigorously picketting liquour shops.

The Independent says that a report from Cawnpore says that the Ali Brothers have been taken to Calcutta.

Volunteers and others arrested are daily being tried and awarded dffiirent terms of inprisonment.

Moulana Thisman,secretary Khilafat Committee, Calcutta has been arrested under section 121 A.

When a meeting was being dispersed in Calcutta few boys and an old woman of 70 were severely beaten.

The cases againt Sjts C.R. Das and Subas chandra ghose were concluded. 4000 students went on strike in Calcutta as a protest against the Government policy.

Gurkhas are coming in at volunteers Meeting, arrests and assanlts are every day events Deshabandu Das is said is be laid up with fever.

### Andhra.

Mr. Sitarama Sastri has been arrested.

Four picketeers namely Sjts Yeluri Hanumantha Rao, Majeti Poornachandra Rao, Kataru Ramoji and Jonnalagadda Appalanarasimham, were arrested on the 13th and were taken to Rajamundary.

Congress progaganda, is being vigorously conducted in Mdujpi.

In Nellore three Congress workers Inti Krishna Rao, Talupur Venkatesubbiah, Madarapaha Chinna Subbiah, the last of whom is 60 years old were persecuted under section 228 I. P. C.

Mr. Terumal Rao has been arrested.

In addition to a circle Inspector the Sub Inspector of Chittor also has resigned.

Sjt Radhakrishnayya has been arrested.

Civil discbedence commence at Ongole Taluk. Many village officers have resigned.

The whole town of Kollu has resloved not to pay taxes Village officers are resigning.

Meetings have been prohibited in Rajamundary in deference to which the president, of the Congress Committee, has informed the Magistrate of "due dis obedience".

Sjts Sitarama Sastry and Radha krishnayya have been awarded 12 months R. I. each

Valluri Narayana Rao, secretary ongole Taluq congress committee has been arrested for openly advocating non payment of taxes.

Military hooligamism is taking place in the suchra province.

Several teachers of the Kollur B. H. school have resigned.

Sjt Viraraju has been sentenced to 1 year R. J.

Sjt K. Krishnamurthy has been arrested and sentenced.

Sjts R. V. R. Swamy Bar at law chairman, and the vice chairman, Rajamundry Municipality, and other were arrested on January 19th

Sjt P. Subba Rao was 5 mo th R. I and Sjt V. Narayana Rao of Ongole 1 year S. I. Sjt C. V. Narasimha Rao has been arrested.

Jamab M- Manewar has been sentenced to 1 year R I.

Certificates of teachers are being cancelled as a threat to their taking part in politics. Shunmuga Sundara Nayanar and Syed Abdullah are to furnish security for one year, which was refused and they were awarded asked one years S. I. eace.

Sjts A. Kandaswamy Chetty and P. Krishnamoorthy Naidu have been sentenced to 1 yerr S. I.

Sjts M. Tirimal Rao and M. Kamesharoah have been sentenced to 1 year R. 1.

### Bombay.

In Poona the total number of civil resisters has gone to 400 and is in creasing daily Sjt D. A. Kulkarmi got 3½ month R. I. which he was undergoing already.

The working committee has Sanctioned R 8 4000 in addition to R 16000 already remitted, for the Malabar Relief.

Sjt Salvote of Poona has sacrificed his all for the country and is living with the beggar's boul.

# Foriegn News.

### Egypt

Telegrams from Cairo indicate an easy solution of the political deadlock in Egypt by the formation of a ministry under Saivat Pasha who is authoritatively stated to have reached an agreement with British representatives, in Egypt. It is reliably stated that a more liberal policy than that outlined in Lord Curzons' note is to be adopted.

Asa result of police shooting on an Egyptian crowd that attacked a British Company in connection with the anti—British boycott 3 Egyptianswevekilledand 5 wounded.

### South Africa

The miners strike is still continuing. Negotiations for settlement are proceeding.

### Kenya

Considerable interest is aroused in London about the Kenyan problem. The Dela mere deputation to Mr. Churchill will be followed by an Indian deputation consisting of Messrs. Jevanjee, Wedgewood, Polak and others.

### Ireland

Lord Fitzalam handed over the Dublin Castle on the 16th to the Irish provisional Government. Mr. Michael Collins in the role of the Premier is already showing firm control, although the newly formed Government is confronted by formidable difficulties. Father Dominic ex-prisoner released under the amnesty has issued a plea for release of mutineers.

### England

Lord Derby appeals for postponement of general election.

The Anglo Persian oil company hasissued new capital.

Mr. Chamberlain declared that the dissolution of Parliament will not take place before arrangements under the Anglo Irish treaty are completed. Speaking at Glasgo whe pleaded for reduction in expenditure by 200 millions.

The coalition Liberal Conference opened at Westminister on January 19th.They praised Mr. Lloyd George anddrew up a political programme forthe future.

### China

Political excitement in Peking is high. Wuccifu, the liberal Military leader threatens the military occupation of Peking if the Government do not retire Kiaochou is being returned to China. There is a seamen's strike going on in China as a result of which Hongkong shipping is paralysed.

China and Persia have concluded a treaty of friendshfp. The Chinese have insi ted on the various powert publishing all the treaties, secres or open which relate to China as a result of the Washington agreement.

### France

Negotiations are proceeding to re-open the question of the Anglo French alliance among others Lord Derby States that the retirementof M. Briand should not be considered to be a final blow tosuch analliance.

M. Poincaire the new Premier has issued a statement in which he says we shall be very happy if the Anglo French pact is shortly to be signed. At the same time we must confer with Italy and Britain in endeavouring to prevent the resumption of Turk—Greek hostilities so that we may reap the advantages of the Angora convention. Mr. M. Poincairedealared it would be scandalous iniquity if victorious France had to build up over her ruins at her own expense while Germany was growing rich, her economic statusgrowing daily, herworkshops in full swing and hercompanies distributing enormous dividends.

He insisted that the Reparation problem dominated everything, and that if Germany refused compliance with the dues she must be brought to book by rigourous measures. With regard to Genoa conference he said failing certain conditions France would resumethe freedom of action.

The French Chamber has passed a vote of confidence in the new Government by 472 to 107 votes.

### Cannes

A Fraco-Belgian protocol undertaking mutual defensive alliance is signed.

### Italy

The Pope is dead.

### The Near East

Lord Curzon's proposal consists of evacution of Smyrna zone by Greek troops and the maintenance of nominal Turkish Swzerainty but local autonomy with an international guarantee and safe guards for Christian minorities in Asia Minor.

### Spain

The clash between the civil and Military authorities in Spain which evoked the recent crisis has resulted in the vindication of the former. Premier Mora has with drawn his resignation.

### Turkey

At the request of Angora Government the Soviet party has arrested Enver Pasha who will be tried at Angora for high treason.

The Angora assembly has agreed to the introduction of foreign capital in Anatolia subject to certain reservations.

The colonial office announces that a force of about 700 strong will be stationed in Palestine. It has been reported that Black and Tans were to be sent to Palestine.

### Arabia

The Government of India as a result of enquiry desires the rumour of the purchase of the Hedjaz railway by Great Britain.

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continued from page 3 colum 3.

operation movement was characterised by some of them only bodes evil to Government Government should now find its way—the time being very opportune—to fulfil their several pledges to the people of India. Any calm and dispassionate observer would find—if only he takes the trouble to study the situation in the country—that all classes of people are disgusted with the administration of the country and that there is none that does not condemn the present bureaucratic system of Government. The man in the street, the woman in the kitchen, and the boy at school all resent very much the treatment of Indians by the Bahadur bureaucrats. Men in rural parts have all their respective long-standing grievances against Government. They all expect better days and a better system of Government. They all think of the good old days of peace and plenty and are pining for the day of redemption. The illiterate masses too are smarting under the Punjab and Khilaft wrongs. The masses in rural parts are asserting their inherent rights to freedom of speech and freedom of association. Need I mention that thousands of Indians, men women and boys, are enlisting themselves as volunteers in the service of the country? Surely Government cannot be blind to these things.

All eyes are now turned to Mahatma Gandhi for the salvation of India. The Congress has given its mandate. The way has been cleared and Mahatma Gandi is leading the movement cheerfully and fearlessly. Millions, young and old, rich and poor, of both sexes have rallied round his standard of Swaraj: The Congress wants justice, bare justice and nothing but justice. Let Lord Reading, the ex-chief Justice of England mete out Justice to India. He has been for many years a votary at the shrine of the Goddess of Justice. He knows what justice is—what the standard of justice is, how justice should be meted out with an unbiassed mind, and how if justice be not administered evenly by one whose duty it is to do so, he is answerable to God.

In the name of Justice does Mahatma Gandhi press for minimum demands of India. In the name of Justice again, does he insist (to facilitate of course, the work of Malaviyajee and others) upon certain conditions being satisfied before the Round Table Conference meets. Justice demands the fulfilment of these conditions. The fulfilment of these conditions is absolutely necessary for the creation of favourable atmosphere for discussing the demands of Indians. In this act of justice alone lies the contentment and happiness of India, and in this act of justice alone does the prestige and honour of Britain depend. The hour is now come for England in her own interests to play her magnanimous part in the political history of India. The golden opportunity has offered itself to England for the fulfilment of her loud proclaimed mission in India. Will the Viceroy realise the situation and act heroically?

If His Excellency fails to grasp the real situation or if he is indifferent to the signs of the times, or if he allows himself to be lulled into fancied security by the words of his subordinates and delays the summoning of the Round Table Conference on which the moderate leaders have centred all their hopes, the movement of non-violent non-co-operation under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi will go on with redoubled vigour with mass civil disobedience in full swing. It is very likely that the moderates, being frustrated in their attempts at an honourable settlement, will no longer stand by Government. Self-respect and the interests of the country would compel them to accept the creed of the Congress & join the non-co-operation movement. The whole country would then offer a united front and Government would then become embarrassed. It will be in a fix unable to retrace its steps. It will be too late then to mend matters. Be it remembered in this connection that the non-co-operators have very little faith in the success of the Round Table Conference and it was solely to help the moderate leaders of high integrity and genuine pariotism who still have faith in the bureaucracy that Mahatma Gandhi yielded on certain points. The non-co-operation movement is bound to succeed and succeed nobly in the end. Providence is guiding it on safe lines. It is a spiritual movement and will surely save India and the world from all ills—political, social and moral. The whole world is watching with keen interest the progress of the movement and will very soon I daresay, sympathise with it fully. Now is the time for a change of heart or Never.

# Letters to the Editor.

(We do not hold ourselves responsible for the opinions of our correspondents. Ed.—C.)

## An Appeal for National Schools.

Some of us may ask this question Where is the necessity for national schools? What is wrong with the present ones? Don't we get educated and employed? Is not our mental horizon widened? Does it not bring us happiness and contentment? To all these questions there is but one reply. There is an air of selfishness pervading them and these questions can therefore be set aside when considering the present awakening and needs of the country. Today the question is how is the system obtained in the land satisfying the needs of the people? Their mental outlook is really widened. They want such an education that will make them think nationally and act nationally. And therefore to satisfy the present day cravings and standards the present system is lagging behind and is not up to the mark. It is almost a dead limb in the body politic and if it is not removed or amputated it will check the growth of the nation on account of its intierent worth lessness.

To prove this, nothing more is needed than the following incident. We all know that the Congress, the one nationol institution, boycotted the Prince of Wales. The Prince came here on the 13th instant. One of the items to be gone through in the programme was the welcome of the students of the University at the Senate House. Most of the local colleges boycotted the royal representative of the House of Hanover But the lady students of the Queen Mary's college went *en masse* to welcome the Prince and this is now understood to be the direct result of academic pressure. Is this not in the language of the bureaucracy intimidation? Is there no trace of 'coercion' in this? What is there if that is not evident? Let the public understand this. Not only this. There is something more to surprise us. The students of the above institution were asked to throw flowers on the Prince when he visited it. Who is responsible for this deliberate and wilful wrong done to the Hindu community? Every one knows that only on marriage occasions; flower throwing is allowable Persons of different sex mutually throw flowers at each other and garlands are generally used. Are there no girls in European community to do this honour to the Prince? Why should girls, of a different community, be used as a catspaw in doing such a shameful thing that is entirely against their *Shastras*. Has not the Principal of the institution treated them as scraps of paper? A hit is aimed at the whole community and let the community answer point blank.

In order to answer this and save the younger generation from the soul killing agents of the type of the principal we must have our own institutions where boys and girls can read our religion & language and be imbued with a real love of country and its literature without national education, the nation must die but gradually. The death is coming apace and that is seen in the poor response made to the call of the country here. Let us be on the alert to avert such a calamity. Let us start at once national institutions We do not want big buildings with halls fitted with electric lights and fans. A big spacious compound with sheds open to free air and light would serve our purpose. By copying the Bholpur school of Rabrindranth Tagore in methods of work and teaching we can lay the foundations of national education in the south. Why cannot every member of the Congress pay Annas eight monthly for the necessary funds? If only our leaders here try this experiment, success is certain. If the public co-operate and support the leaders they will ere long establish a chain of national institutions throughout the length and breadth of the country. It is hoped that the leaders, the brains of the community, would gladly respond to the call.

E. Govindan.

## What about Malabar?

Sir,

Because of the recent rebellion should Malabar be a land deprived of all Congress political activities, a land merely to receive Ramaier-Krishnan Cult, is the question which puzzles every patriotic Malabari, for this state of complete inactivity not only debars her from participating in the amount of purification and self-sacrifice but makes her entirely inefficient for the peaceful Swaraj at hand.

The Malabar which in the past used to play a conspicuous part in Hartals was seen, on the 13th when H. R. H. arrived at Madras, with decorated schools and shops and buildings, inspite of the Congress call, inspite of the thousands of her children suffering on account of the bloody outbreak. Attention of the Congress leaders is greatly needed in this part of India which is now almost or wholly dead to the burning problems of India. The light of Gandhian cult must again be Kindled or Malabar will be fallen for ever into the whirlpool of selfish politics.

"MALABARI."

**P. SUBBAROY**

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